

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
EASTERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA

LARRY LEVINE; TOM KAPTAIN;  
SCOTT HART; and CALIFORNIA  
REPUBLICAN ASSEMBLY,

Plaintiffs,

v.

FAIR POLITICAL PRACTICES  
COMMISSION,

Defendant.

NO. CIV. S-02-199 LKK/DAD

O R D E R

**TO BE PUBLISHED**

Plaintiffs seek a preliminary injunction barring enforcement of both Cal. Gov't Code section 84305.6 and subsection (a)(6) of Cal. Gov't Code section 84305.5, as it stood before it was amended by Proposition 208. They assert that the requirements of these provisions violate their right to free speech protected by the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. I resolve their motion on the pleadings and evidence filed herein and after oral argument.

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I.

**BACKGROUND**

Over a number of years, California, both through its legislative and initiative processes, has imposed various disclosure requirements on so-called slate mailers.<sup>1</sup> Prior to the passage of Proposition 208 in 1996, slate mail organizations were required to print the following disclosure in at least 8-point roman boldface type on each slate mailer:

NOTICE TO VOTERS

THIS DOCUMENT WAS PREPARED BY (name of slate mail organization), NOT AN OFFICIAL PARTY ORGANIZATION. Appearance in this mailer does not necessarily imply endorsement of others appearing in this mailer, nor does it imply endorsement of, or opposition to, any issues set forth in this mailer. Appearance is paid for and authorized by each candidate and ballot measure which is designated by an \*.

See Cal. Gov't Code § 84305.5(a)(2) (prior to amendment by Proposition 208). In addition, Cal. Gov't Code § 84305.5(a)(6), as it stood before Proposition 208, prohibited sending a slate mailer unless:

Any candidate endorsement appearing in the slate mailer that differs from the official endorsement of the political party which the mailer appears by representation or indicia to represent is accompanied, immediately below the endorsement, in no less than 9-point roman boldface type which shall be in a color or print that contrasts with the background so as to be easily legible, the following notice: THIS IS NOT THE POSITION OF THE (political party which the mailer appears by representation or indicia to represent)

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<sup>1</sup> Generically a slate mailer receives a fee for preparing and mass-mailing to prospective voters brief documents, often 8 ½ x 11" in size, supporting lists of candidates or propositions. See infra n.2 for the statutory definition, and n.3 for the statutory definition of a slate mailer organization.

1 PARTY.

2 See id.

3 Proposition 208 amended Cal. Gov't Code § 84305.5. The  
4 above provisions were replaced by other slate mail disclosure  
5 provisions. The new provisions were ultimately found to be  
6 unconstitutional and their enforcement enjoined by this court.  
7 See California Prolife Council v. Scully, 96-1965, March 1, 2001  
8 Order.

9 While Proposition 208 was being litigated, Proposition 34  
10 was passed.<sup>2</sup> Cal. Gov't Code § 84305.6, enacted by Proposition  
11 34, reads, in pertinent part:

12 In addition to the requirements of Section 84305.5, a  
13 slate mailer organization . . . may not send a slate  
14 mailer unless any recommendation in the slate mailer  
15 to support or oppose a ballot measure or support a  
16 candidate that is different from the official  
17 recommendation to support or oppose by the political  
18 party that the mailer appears by representation or  
19 indicia to represent is accompanied, immediately below  
the ballot measure or candidate recommendation in the  
slate mailer, in no less than nine-point roman  
boldface type in a color or print that contrasts with  
the background so as to be easily legible, the  
following notice: "THIS IS NOT THE OFFICIAL POSITION  
OF THE (political party that the mailer appears by  
representation or indicia to represent) PARTY."

20 See id.

21 The plaintiffs in this case have all published slate  
22 mailers as defined in Cal. Gov't Code § 82048.3.<sup>3</sup> As to all but

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24 <sup>2</sup> Because the passage of Proposition 34 rendered the decision  
25 on Proposition 208 of limited value, the court elected not to  
publish it.

26 <sup>3</sup> This section provides that a "[s]late mailer" means a mass  
mailing which supports or opposes a total of four or more

1 the California Republican Assembly, it is uncontested that  
2 plaintiffs are slate mail organizations as defined by Cal. Gov't  
3 Code § 82048.5.<sup>4</sup> Each of the plaintiffs publish slate mail that  
4 targets either Democratic or Republican voters, and their  
5 mailers include captions that contain the words "Democrat,"  
6 "Democratic," or "Republican," along with other symbols or  
7 references typically associated with such parties.<sup>5</sup> In their  
8 slate mail, plaintiffs have included, and represent that they  
9 will continue to include, the disclaimer set forth in Cal. Gov't  
10 \_\_\_\_\_  
11 candidates or ballot measures."

12 <sup>4</sup> This section defines a slate mail organization as:

13 [A]ny person who, directly or indirectly, does all of  
14 the following:

15 (1) Is involved in the production of one or more slate  
16 mailers and exercises control over the selection of the  
17 candidates and measures to be supported or opposed in  
the slate mailers.

(2) Receives or is promised payments totaling five  
hundred dollars (\$500) or more in a calendar year for  
the production of one or more slate mailers.

18 <sup>5</sup> Plaintiff Larry Levine, who publishes slate mailers through  
19 his organization known as "Voter Information Guide," printed a  
20 slate mailer in 1996 with the caption, "Voter Information Guide for  
21 Democrats." More recently, for the 2000 primary election, Levine's  
22 slate mailer was titled only "Voter Information Guide," and for  
23 each candidate, listed the different endorsing organizations,  
24 including the Democratic Party. Plaintiff Scott Hart publishes  
25 slate mailers through an organization he controls known as  
26 "Continuing the Republican Revolution." His slate mailer carries  
this title, alongside pictures of former President Ronald Reagan  
or President George W. Bush. Plaintiff Tom Kaptain's slate mail  
organization, entitled, "Democratic Voters' Choice," published a  
slate mailer for the 2000 primary election that included on the  
front of the mailer the words "Vote Democratic" around a donkey  
logo, along with the statement that, "The Democratic Party was  
Established in 1823." The inside of the mailers, which contained  
the slate listing, had the headline "Our Democratic Team" or "The  
Team for Democratic Voters."

1 Code § 84305.5(a)(2) (prior to amendment by Proposition 208).<sup>6</sup>  
2 They take issue, however, with the requirements of Proposition  
3 34, as codified in Cal. Gov't Code § 84305.6, contending that it  
4 violates their First Amendment rights. Similarly, to the extent  
5 that defendant intends to enforce Cal. Gov't Code  
6 § 84305.5(a)(6) as it stood before Proposition 208, plaintiffs  
7 contend that this provision also violates their First Amendment  
8 rights. Plaintiffs ask this court to preliminarily enjoin  
9 defendant from enforcing sections 84305.6 and 84305.5(a)(6)  
10 against them.

11 **II.**

12 **STANDARDS FOR ISSUING A PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION**

13 The purpose of the preliminary injunction as provided by  
14 Fed. R. Civ. P. 65 is to preserve the relative positions of the  
15 parties -- the status quo -- until a full trial on the merits  
16 can be conducted. See University of Texas v. Camenisch, 451  
17 U.S. 390, 395 (1981). The limited record usually available on  
18 such motions renders a final decision on the merits  
19 inappropriate. See Brown v. Chote, 411 U.S. 452, 456 (1973).

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22 <sup>6</sup> Whether, due to the fact that this court found Proposition  
23 208 unconstitutional, this provision is now again in effect is a  
24 matter at issue in this litigation. If this provision is not again  
25 in effect the fact that plaintiffs represent that they will  
26 continue to conduct their affairs in accordance with its  
requirements clearly would not bind them to do so. Accordingly,  
although the court considers that representation relative to this  
motion for a preliminary injunction, it is not clear that the  
representation would bear any significant weight in considering a  
permanent ban.

1        "The [Supreme] Court has repeatedly held that the basis for  
2 injunctive relief in the federal courts has always been  
3 irreparable injury and the inadequacy of legal remedies."  
4 Weinberger v. Romero-Barcelo, 456 U.S. 305, 312 (1982). In the  
5 Ninth Circuit, two interrelated tests exist for determining the  
6 propriety of the issuance of a preliminary injunction. The  
7 moving party carries the burden of proof on each element of  
8 either test. See Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum Comm'n v.  
9 National Football League, 634 F.2d 1197, 1203 (9th Cir. 1980).  
10 Under the first "traditional" test, the court may not issue a  
11 preliminary injunction unless each of the following requirements  
12 is satisfied: (1) the moving party has demonstrated a  
13 likelihood of success on the merits, (2) the moving party will  
14 suffer irreparable injury and has no adequate remedy at law if  
15 injunctive relief is not granted, (3) in balancing the equities,  
16 the non-moving party will not be harmed more than the moving  
17 party is helped by the injunction, and (4) granting the  
18 injunction is in the public interest. See Martin v.  
19 International Olympic Committee, 740 F.2d 670, 674-75 (9th Cir.  
20 1984).

21        Under the second "alternative" test, the court may not  
22 issue a preliminary injunction unless the moving party  
23 demonstrates either "probable success on the merits and  
24 irreparable injury . . . or . . . sufficiently serious questions  
25 going to the merits to make the case a fair ground for  
26 litigation and a balance of hardships tipping decidedly in favor

1 of the party requesting relief." Topanga Press Inc. v. City of  
2 Los Angeles, 989 F.2d 1524, 1528 (9th Cir. 1993) (citations  
3 omitted). The Ninth Circuit has explained that the two parts of  
4 the alternative test are not separate and unrelated, but are  
5 "extremes of a single continuum." Benda v. Grand Lodge of  
6 International Association of Machinists, 584 F.2d 308, 315 (9th  
7 Cir. 1978), cert. dismissed, 441 U.S. 937 (1979). We are taught  
8 that the critical element within this alternative test is the  
9 relative hardship to the parties. See id. "[T]he required  
10 degree of irreparable harm increases as the probability of  
11 success decreases." United States v. Nutri-cology Inc., 983  
12 F.2d 394, 397 (9th Cir. 1992) (citations and internal quotation  
13 marks omitted). Even if the balance tips sharply in favor of  
14 the moving party, however, "it must be shown as an irreducible  
15 minimum that there is a fair chance of success on the merits."  
16 International Olympic Committee, 740 F.2d at 674-75. (citation  
17 omitted).

### 18 III.

#### 19 ANALYSIS

##### 20 A. JURISDICTION

21 The plaintiffs in this case sue the Fair Political  
22 Practices Commission ("FPPC"), an arm of the State of  
23 California. It is established Eleventh Amendment jurisprudence,  
24 however, that this court lacks "federal jurisdiction over suits  
25 against consenting States." Seminole Tribe of Florida v.  
26 Florida, 517 U.S. 44, 54 (1996). Thus, before this action can

1 proceed I must be satisfied that the State has consented.

2 To note that defendant has not objected to this court's  
3 jurisdiction on the basis of the Eleventh Amendment, while  
4 pertinent, is not the end of the matter. The test for  
5 determining whether a state has consented to this court's  
6 jurisdiction "is a stringent one." Mitchell v. Franchise Tax  
7 Bd. (In re Mitchell), 208 F.3d 1111, 1117 (9th Cir. 2000). A  
8 state waives its immunity when it "voluntarily invokes [federal]  
9 jurisdiction or . . . makes a 'clear declaration' that it  
10 intends to submit itself to [federal] jurisdiction." Shulman v.  
11 California (In re Lazar), 237 F.3d 967, 976 (9th Cir. 2001).  
12 Such "clear declaration," however, need not be express. Rather,  
13 "a state 'waive[s] its Eleventh Amendment immunity by conduct  
14 that is incompatible with an intent to preserve that immunity.'" Indus. Comm'n of Ariz. v. Bliemeister (In re Bliemeister), 296  
15 F.3d 858, 861 (9th Cir. 2002) (quoting Hill v. Blind Indus. &  
16 Servs., 179 F.3d 754, 758 (9th Cir. 1999)).

18 Here, while the defendant did not explicitly address the  
19 question of sovereign immunity, it twice stated that it did not  
20 dispute this court's jurisdiction. First, in its answer to  
21 plaintiffs' complaint, defendant stated in pertinent part:

22 The FPFC admits the allegations of Paragraph 1,  
23 that this Court has jurisdiction pursuant to 28  
24 U.S. C §§ 1331, 1343(a)(3), and 1343(a)(4), and  
25 that this is a civil action brought under 42 U.S.C.  
§ 1983, arising under the First and Fourteenth  
Amendments to the Constitution of the United  
States.

26 Answer of Defendant Fair Political Practices Commission, filed



February 13, 2002, at 2 ¶ 1. Later, in a status report to this court, the defendant stated, "Defendant does not dispute jurisdiction but may move the Court to abstain or stay these proceedings . . . ." Defendant's Status Report filed April 19, 2002 at 2:18-19. These representations, alongside the fact that the defendant has actively participated in this litigation, see, e.g. Bliemeister, 296 F.3d at 861, are "incompatible with an intent to preserve immunity." Id. Accordingly, I find that defendant has consented to the jurisdiction of this court.

#### **B. JUSTICIABILITY**

"Whether the question is viewed as one of standing or ripeness," before considering the plaintiffs' motion, this court must be assured that the plaintiffs face an actual injury. See Thomas v. Anchorage Equal Rights Comm'n, 220 F.3d 1134, 1138 (9th Cir. 2000). To establish the requisite ripeness and standing for purposes of a preliminary injunction, plaintiffs must demonstrate that they will likely succeed in establishing "a realistic danger of sustaining a direct injury as a result of the statute's operation or enforcement." Id. See Lujan v. Defenders of Wildlife, 504 U.S. 555, 561 (1992) ("each element [of standing] must be supported in the same way as any other matter on which the plaintiff bears the burden of proof, i.e., with the manner and degree of evidence required at the successive stages of the litigation").

Of course each plaintiff must demonstrate that it has standing to sue. In this regard, I note that it is uncontested

1 that the California Republican Assembly is not a slate mail  
2 organization within the meaning of Cal. Gov't Code § 82048.5.  
3 It follows that it is not subject to either of the provisions  
4 that plaintiffs seek to enjoin. Accordingly, it lacks standing  
5 for purposes of this motion.

6 As to all the other plaintiffs, it is equally uncontested  
7 that they are slate mail organizations within the meaning of the  
8 provisions at issue. It further appears that, due to the party  
9 references in plaintiffs' mailers, plaintiffs are likely to  
10 have these provisions enforced against them.

11 First, it is clear that, under defendant's interpretation,  
12 the party references in plaintiffs' mailers cause them to  
13 "appear[] by representation or indicia to represent" a given  
14 political party. Cal. Gov't Code § 84305.5(a)(6) (prior to  
15 amendment by Proposition 208); Cal. Gov't Code § 84305.6.  
16 Although defendant has not issued regulations<sup>7</sup> specifying the  
17 enforcement parameters for these provisions, a FPPC advice  
18 letter to non-party witness Fred Huebscher demonstrates that the  
19 defendant's position is that the mere use of the word  
20 "Democratic" in connection with a political candidate or  
21 proposition makes a mailer "appear[] by representation or

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23 <sup>7</sup> The absence of regulations caused the court to inquire  
24 whether it should defer its decision pursuant to Arizonans for  
25 Official English v. Arizona, 520 U.S. 43 (1997). The parties agree  
26 that, in the absence of a mechanism under which this court  
could certify the issue to the California Supreme Court, such  
deference is inappropriate. See California Prolife Council  
Political Action Committee v. Scully, 989 F. Supp. 1282, 1288  
(E.D. Cal. 1998).

1 indicia to represent" the Democratic Party.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, while  
2 defendant has pointed out that this advice letter is not  
3 binding, defendant would be hard-pressed to argue that it does  
4 not understand the provisions at issue to reach plaintiffs'  
5 mailers. Many of the slate mailers submitted as exhibits in  
6 support of defendant's opposition to plaintiffs' motion were  
7 published by the plaintiffs.<sup>9</sup> See Bowler Decl. and Exhibits;  
8 see also Defendant's Opposition to Plaintiffs' Motion for  
9 Preliminary Injunction at 3 (likening the plaintiffs' use of  
10 "the name 'Democrat' or 'Republican' or other indicia such as  
11 the donkey or the elephant" to fraudulent conduct enjoined by a  
12 district court in Tomei v. Finley, 512 F. Supp. 695 (N.D. Ill.,  
13 1981)).

14 Second, defendant has already taken steps that could lead

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16 <sup>8</sup> Fred Huebscher is a publisher of slate mail. He consulted  
17 the FPPC in the year 1998 regarding his proposed mailer, in which  
18 "the only place 'Democratic' will be printed on the mailer . . .  
19 is in the disclaimer mandated by section 84305.5 because the name  
20 of the slate mailer organization is California Democratic  
21 Alliance." Woodlock Decl. Exh. A, FPPC Advice Letter to Fred  
22 Huebscher, May 1, 1998. Under § 84305.5, the disclaimer would have  
23 read in pertinent part:

THIS DOCUMENT WAS PREPARED BY California Democratic Alliance,  
NOT AN OFFICIAL PARTY ORGANIZATION.

21 The FPPC informed Huebscher that this proposed slate mailer  
22 triggered the disclaimer provisions of Section (a)(6) because it  
23 would contain "indicia" of a political party due to the name,  
"California Democratic Alliance" in the disclaimer.

24 <sup>9</sup> The defendants assert that the legitimate governmental  
25 purpose supporting the contested statutes is to eradicate  
26 fraudulent endorsements leading to confusion among the voters as  
to the position of the official parties. The slate mailers  
submitted were, inter alia, in support of, and asserted examples  
of, the need for such regulation.

1 to an enforcement action against one of the plaintiffs. After  
2 the March 2000 primary election, plaintiff Kaptain was contacted  
3 by the FPPC and informed that the FPPC wanted further  
4 information from him regarding his slate mailer in connection  
5 with an inquiry into whether he had violated Cal. Gov't Code  
6 § 84305.5(a)(6).<sup>10</sup> The investigation by the FPPC concerned the  
7 lack of an (a)(6) disclaimer in Kaptain's slate mailer, which  
8 contained references to the Democratic Party, after he endorsed  
9 a candidate who was different than the candidate endorsed by the  
10 Democratic party. While it appears that no probable cause or  
11 violation proceedings have been noticed against Kaptain or the  
12 other plaintiffs, "Abbot Laboratories does not require Damocles'  
13 sword to fall before we recognize the 'realistic danger of  
14 sustaining a direct injury' that is the heart of the  
15 constitutional component of ripeness." City of Auburn v. Qwest  
16 Corp., 260 F.3d 1160, 1172 (9th Cir. 2001). Rather, where  
17 plaintiffs face a dilemma in which they must choose between  
18 complying with burdensome restrictions or risk a credible threat  
19 of enforcement, the constitutional component of ripeness is  
20 satisfied. See id. Indeed, in the First Amendment context,  
21 where the burdensome restrictions carry with them the danger of

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23 <sup>10</sup> Although, as discussed at note 10, infra, the continuing  
24 viability of subsection (a)(6) is in question, for purposes of  
25 justiciability it is sufficient that the FPPC continues to view it  
26 as enforceable. Further, although the FPPC action arose in the  
context of subsection (a)(6) only, it is equally significant when  
considering the threat of enforcement of § 84305.6, as that  
provision is identical in every pertinent way to (a)(6).

1 self-censorship, it is especially appropriate to find that the  
 2 matter is ripe. See Virginia v. American Booksellers Ass'n,  
 3 Inc., 484 U.S. 383, 393 (1988) ("[T]he alleged danger of this  
 4 statute is, in large measure, one of self-censorship; a harm  
 5 that can be realized even without an actual prosecution.").

6 Finally, I note that the prudential ripeness considerations  
 7 set forth in Abbot Laboratories v. Gardner, 387 U.S. 136 (1967)  
 8 are also satisfied here. As is evident from the discussion  
 9 below, a judicial decision may be made on an essentially legal  
 10 basis. See id. at 149. Likewise, as required for a preliminary  
 11 injunction to issue, I explain below that the balance of the  
 12 hardships falls upon the plaintiffs. See id. at 153.

### 13 **C. LIKELIHOOD OF SUCCESS ON THE MERITS**

14 As an initial matter, I note that whether Cal. Gov't Code §  
 15 84305.5(a)(6) is currently in force is at issue in this  
 16 litigation.<sup>11</sup> While this court must ultimately determine the

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17  
 18 <sup>11</sup> It may be that subsection (a)(6) was revived by virtue of  
 19 the fact that the amendment to § 84305.5 was found unconstitutional  
 20 by this court. Generally speaking, it appears that under state law,  
 21 statutory provisions are not affected by a subsequent  
 22 unconstitutional law. See Lewis v. Dunne, 134 Cal. 291, 299  
 23 (1901) (declaring an act unconstitutional, the California Supreme  
 24 Court further explained that it was "void for all purposes, and is  
 25 inoperative to change or in any way affect the law of the state as  
 26 it stood immediately before the approval of said act"); see also  
Sapiro v. Frisbie, 93 Cal. App. 299, 312 (1928) (Ordinance stands  
 in original form, where purported amendment thereof is  
 unconstitutional). On the other hand, Cal. Gov't Code § 84305.6,  
 which is nearly identical to, but more comprehensive than §  
 84305.5(a)(6), may have repealed subsection (a)(6) by implication.  
See Smith v. Matthews, 155 Cal. 752, 758 (1909) (while an existing  
 statute is not ordinarily abrogated by the enactment of a new one,  
 it may be where the latter fully covers the whole subject matter  
 of the prior).

1 applicability of subsection (a)(6), the question need not be  
2 resolved for purposes of this motion. Rather, even if I were to  
3 find that subsection(a)(6) remains in force, plaintiffs would  
4 nonetheless be likely to succeed because § 84305.5(a)(6) suffers  
5 from the same constitutional defect that is present in §  
6 84305.6, which I now address.

7 Section 84305.6 requires slate mail organizations, whose  
8 mailers "appear by representation or indicia to represent" a  
9 political party, to disclose such party's opposing view each  
10 time the recommendation on the mailer differs from that of the  
11 party. For example, if a Democrat-oriented slate mailer,  
12 falling within the purview of § 84305.6, favors Proposition X  
13 while the Democratic Party's Central Committee does not, the  
14 mailer must disclose that "this is not the official position of  
15 the Democratic Party," essentially advertising the party's  
16 negative position on Proposition X. Put directly, the statute  
17 does not merely require a disclaimer, rather it requires the  
18 mailer to articulate the position of the official party. As I  
19 now explain, however, such a requirement cannot pass  
20 constitutional muster.

21 It is well-established that a statute compelling speech,  
22 like a statute forbidding speech, falls within the purview of  
23 the First Amendment. See Wooley v. Maynard, 430 U.S. 705, 714  
24 (1977) ("The right to speak and the right to refrain from  
25 speaking are complementary components of the broader concept of  
26 'individual freedom of mind'"). The question here is whether

1 the slate mail, by virtue of its status as paid political  
2 advertisements, or because of their potential to confuse or  
3 mislead the electorate, may nonetheless be constitutionally  
4 subject to § 84305.6's requirement of compelled speech.  
5 Defendant argues that because the slate mail publishers are  
6 paid, and because the object is to prevent confusion, § 84305.6  
7 warrants only limited scrutiny or, in the alternative,  
8 withstands strict scrutiny. I consider these contentions in  
9 turn.

10 First, assuming arguendo, that slate mailers are commercial  
11 speech,<sup>12</sup> or that § 84305.6 applies only to fraudulent mailers,  
12 it does not follow that a standard other than strict scrutiny  
13 applies. Rather, regardless of what type of speech or conduct<sup>13</sup>  
14 triggers the requirements of § 84305.6, there is no question  
15 that, once triggered, § 84305.6 compels specific speech with a  
16 political message contrary to that propounded by the slate  
17 mailer. Thus, § 84305.6 is a content-based regulation  
18 "operat[ing] as a command in the same sense as the statute or  
19 regulation forbidding [a person] to publish specified matter."

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21 <sup>12</sup> But see N.Y. Times v. Sullivan, 376 U.S. 254, 265  
22 (1964) ("That the Times was paid for publishing the advertisement  
is as immaterial [as to whether the First Amendment applies] as is  
the fact that newspapers and books are sold.").

23 <sup>13</sup> It is established that fraudulent speech is treated as  
24 conduct and thus its regulation is ordinarily not subject to First  
25 Amendment review at all. See, e.g., McIntyre v. Ohio Elections  
26 Comm'n, 514 U.S. 334, 357 (1995) (distinguishing the permissible  
punishment of fraud from "indiscriminately outlawing a category of  
speech"); see also Gervetz v. Robert Welch, Inc., 418 U.S. 323, 340  
(1974) ("there is no constitutional value in false statements").

1 Miami Herald Pub. Co. v. Tornillo, 418 U.S. 241, 256  
2 (1974) (holding unconstitutional a statute that required a  
3 newspaper to publish a rebuttal after it assailed the character  
4 of a political candidate). "Mandating speech that a speaker  
5 would not otherwise make necessarily alters the content of the  
6 speech. We therefore consider the [disclosure requirement] as a  
7 content-based regulation of speech." Riley v. Nat'l Federation  
8 of the Blind, 487 U.S. 781, 795 (1988). Put directly, it is not  
9 the trigger but the consequence, the compelled speech, which  
10 requires that § 84305.6 be subject to strict scrutiny.

11 Defendant argues that California has a compelling interest  
12 in protecting voters from confusion and fraud. See, e.g.,  
13 Burson v. Freeman, 504 U.S. 191 (1992) (upholding prohibition on  
14 electioneering within 100 feet of the entrance to a polling  
15 place). As the plaintiffs point out, however, § 84305.6 is  
16 likely overbroad for this purpose. While fraud is a proper  
17 concern, it is far from clear what is meant by the phrase  
18 "appear by representation or indicia to represent" a political  
19 party. Assuming, however, that a narrowing construction could  
20 be imposed on this language, such a construction, as noted  
21 above, would only limit the type of speech or conduct that  
22 triggered the requirements of § 84305.6. The question remains  
23 whether the disclosure requirement of § 84305.6 is the "least  
24 restrictive means to further the articulated interest."<sup>14</sup> Sable

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25  
26 <sup>14</sup> Because a narrowing construction would not be dispositive  
in this case, Pullman abstention is not warranted. See Cedar Shake



1 Communications of Cal., Inc. v. FCC, 492 U.S. 115, 126 (1989).

2 Clearly, it is not.

3 Present California law provides a less restrictive means  
4 for preventing a fraud on the electorate. See California  
5 Elections Code §§ 20006, 20007 (prohibiting false claims that a  
6 candidate has been endorsed by a party central committee, and  
7 permitting any member of the party central committee or any  
8 registered voter to bring an action in Superior Court to enjoin  
9 any such misrepresentation). Moreover, even if it were  
10 established that a compelled disclosure statement were indeed  
11 the least restrictive means to further the State's interest in  
12 protecting voters from confusion and fraud, the disclosure  
13 compelled by § 84305.6 goes beyond neutralizing the fraudulent  
14 or misleading aspect of the slate mailer. Cf. former Cal. Gov't  
15 Code § 84305.5(a)(2) (before amendment by Proposition  
16 208) (requiring a disclosure that the mailer is not an official  
17 party publication and does not necessarily represent the views  
18 of a party).<sup>15</sup> Rather, § 84305.6 essentially forces slate mail

19 \_\_\_\_\_  
20 and Shingle Bureau v. City of Los Angeles, 992 F.2d 620, 622 (9th  
21 Cir. 1993) (citing Railroad Commission of Texas v. Pullman Co., 312  
22 U.S. 496 (1941) (abstention warranted only where "a definitive  
ruling on the state issues by a state court could obviate the need  
for constitutional adjudication by the federal court").

23 <sup>15</sup> Defendants argue that a disclosure such as that required  
24 by former Cal. Gov't Code § 84305.5(a)(2) cannot adequately protect  
25 voters from truly egregious mailers. That which is freely  
26 asserted, however, can be freely denied. Notably, defendant had  
no actual examples of such egregious mailers, and had to doctor one  
of the plaintiffs' mailers to show the court why the provisions at  
issue could be necessary. This hypothetical mailer states in large  
letters "Official Democratic Party Guide" on the front of the

1 publishers to give space to the opposing view. Cf. Miami Herald  
2 Publ. Co., supra. Because § 84305.6 does not appear to be the  
3 least restrictive means available to protect voters from  
4 confusion and fraud, it is highly likely that the plaintiffs in  
5 this case will prevail on the merits.

6 **D. IRREPARABLE HARM AND BALANCING THE EQUITIES**

7 Plaintiffs have shown a high likelihood that the provisions  
8 at issue will violate rights guaranteed them by the First  
9 Amendment. "The loss of First Amendment freedoms, for even  
10 minimal periods of time, unquestionably constitutes irreparable  
11 injury." Elrod v. Burns, 427 U.S. 347, 373 (1976). It is  
12 further clear that, at this juncture, plaintiffs' injury is  
13 imminent. See Hodgers-Durgin v. De La Vina, 199 F.3d 1037, 1044  
14 (9th Cir. 1999) ("the ripeness requirement serves the same  
15 function in limiting declaratory relief as the imminent-harm  
16 requirement serves in limiting injunctive relief"). With the  
17 November 2002 elections on the immediate horizon, absent an  
18 injunction, plaintiffs will have to choose between self-  
19 censorship or the real possibility of an enforcement action by  
20 the FPPC. This harm outweighs any that would be suffered by

21 \_\_\_\_\_  
22 mailer, with a § 84305.5(a)(2) disclosure on the back stating that  
23 the mailer is not an official party publication. While it may be  
24 that the neutral disclosure of former § 84305.5(a)(2) would be  
25 insufficient to allay the confusion caused by the hypothetical  
26 mailer's blatantly untrue statement, it is not clear that the  
§ 84305.6 disclosure would do so either. Moreover, as noted above,  
California Elections Code §§ 20006 and 20007 provide one example  
of a less restrictive means of addressing this kind of fraud on the  
electorate.

1 defendant or the public by the issuance of a preliminary  
2 injunction. Although defendant's interest and the public  
3 interest in preventing fraud and voter confusion is legitimate,  
4 these concerns are mitigated by the disclosure provision that  
5 plaintiffs presently place on slate mailers, in combination with  
6 the enforcement options provided by California Elections Code  
7 §§ 20006, 20007. Furthermore, it is "in the public interest to  
8 terminate the unconstitutional application" of a statute.  
9 Zeller v. The Florida Bar, 909 F. Supp. 1518 (N.D. Fla. 1995).

10 **E. BOND**

11 No preliminary injunction shall issue "except upon the  
12 giving of security by the applicant, in such sum as the court  
13 deems proper, for the payment of such costs and damages as may  
14 be incurred or suffered by any party who is found to have been  
15 wrongfully enjoined or restrained." Fed. R. Civ. P. 65(c).  
16 Under the Rule, it is "well settled that Rule 65(c) gives the  
17 court wide discretion in the matter of setting security."  
18 Natural Resources Defense Counsel v. Morton, 337 F. Supp. 167,  
19 168 (D.D.C. 1971) (motion for summary reversal dismissed), 458  
20 F.2d 827 (D.C. Cir. 1972). See also Urbain v. Knapp Bros. Mfg.  
21 Co., 217 F.2d 810, 815-16 (6th Cir. 1954); Doyne v. Saettele,  
22 112 F.2d 155, 162 (8th Cir. 1940). In considering the  
23 appropriate amount of the bond, I note on the one hand that the  
24 only likely expenses which the bond stands for are the costs of  
25 suit, on the other hand, I note that plaintiffs are business  
26 people with some means at their disposal. Accordingly, bond is

1 set in the amount of one thousand dollars (\$1,000).

2 **IV.**

3 **CONCLUSION**

4 Based on the foregoing considerations, the court hereby  
5 makes the following orders:


6 1. Except as to the California Republican Assembly,  
7 plaintiffs' motion for a preliminary injunction is GRANTED.

8 2. Defendant is preliminarily ENJOINED from enforcing  
9 former Cal. Gov't Code section 84305.5(a)(6) and Cal. Gov't Code  
10 section 84305.6. against said plaintiffs.

11 3. Plaintiffs shall POST BOND in the amount of one  
12 thousand dollars (\$1,000) within ten (10) days.

13 IT IS SO ORDERED.

14 DATED: September 20, 2002.

15   
16 LAWRENCE K. KARLTON  
17 SENIOR JUDGE  
18 UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
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24  
25  
26

United States District Court  
for the  
Eastern District of California  
September 20, 2002

\* \* CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE \* \*

2:02-cv-00199

Levine

v.

Fair Political

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I, the undersigned, hereby certify that I am an employee in the Office of the Clerk, U.S. District Court, Eastern District of California.

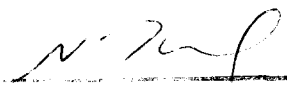
That on September 20, 2002, I SERVED a true and correct copy(ies) of the attached, by placing said copy(ies) in a postage paid envelope addressed to the person(s) hereinafter listed, by depositing said envelope in the U.S. Mail, by placing said copy(ies) into an inter-office delivery receptacle located in the Clerk's office, or, pursuant to prior authorization by counsel, via facsimile.

James V Lacy	SJ/LKK
James V Lacy Attorney at Law	
Civic Center Plaza	CFS
30011 Ivy Glenn Drive	
Suite 223	
Laguna Niguel, CA 92677	

Lawrence Thomas Woodlock  
Fair Political Practices Commission  
428 J Street  
Suite 800  
Sacramento, CA 95814

Geoffrey Lloyd Graybill  
Attorney General's Office  
PO Box 944255  
1300 I Street  
Suite 125  
Sacramento, CA 94244-2550

Jack L. Wagner, Clerk

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